BRILL

Medieval Encounters 13 (2007) 566-601

Medieval
Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture
Encounters
in Confluence and Dialogue

www.brill.nl/me

Prophecies of Apocalypse in Sixteenth-Century Morisco Writings and the Wondrous Tale of Tamīm al-Dārī

Lourdes María Alvarez
Catholic University of America

Abstract
Forcibly converted to Catholicism in the late fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth, the Spanish Moriscos chafed at the restrictions on their cultural and religious practices; many continued to secretly practice Islam while hoping that Turkish or North African forces would bring them deliverance. Their *aljamiado* writings, which use a specially modified Arabic script to represent Spanish mixed with Arabic words and phrases, reflect a desire to preserve Islamic knowledge and Andalusian cultural practices and pass them along to new generations unable to read Arabic. Many of these *aljamiado* texts reflect an urgently apocalyptic worldview. Some of these contain explicit prophecies of divine vengeance on the "eaters of pork" who persecute Muslim believers, prophecies attributed either to important Muslim figures from the past or, in one case, to Saint Isidore of Seville. Although the *Rrekontamiento de Tamim Addar* (*Story of Tamīm al-Dārī*), a lively tale of adventure found in a 16th-century Aragonese aljamiado manuscript, has little in common with the explicit prophecies of the end times, its apocalypticism is all pervasive. The story draws from Islamic Traditions (*ḥadīth*) regarding Tamīm al-Dārī while weaving a wondrous tale of a man snatched by *jinn* who makes his way from captivity and religious oppression through a fantastic landscape populated with a wealth of apocalyptic figures and motifs to ultimately return to his Islamic community and his long-suffering wife. An English translation of the *aljamiado* text follows.

Keywords
Aljamia, Aljamiado literature, Islamic apocalypticism, Moriscos, Tamīm al-Dārī, Dajjāl, Khidr, Islamic folktales, Islamic literature–Spain.

For over one hundred years, the Moriscos—the formerly Muslim "New Christians" forcibly converted in the years following the fall of Granada in 1492—found themselves at the center of heated controversies over the reli-

DOI: 10.1163/157006707X222786

gious and cultural unity of Catholic Spain.[1] From 1499, when Fray Jiménez de Cisneros began corralling the Granadan Muslims and baptizing them en masse, to 1609, when Spain took the dramatic step of expelling them, arguments raged about how best to educate the Moriscos in their new faith and rid them of their "non-Spanish" customs and dress. Special catechisms were printed. Edicts were proclaimed. Pardons were granted. Neither force nor mercy could overcome the Moriscos' outrage at the abrogation of agreements that had given them—"in perpetuity"—the right to practice their religion and keep their property.[2] Ever more stringent measures prohibiting the use of Arabic, the wearing of "Moorish" styles of clothing, and circumcision, as well as the constant scrutiny of Moriscos' food choices, bathing practices, and other personal habits, only served to fuel their anger and desire for deliverance. Inquisition records and other sources record the lengths to which many Moriscos went to dissimulate their continued Islamic observance: women made a show of buying pork at the market, only to feed it to their dogs; Moriscos consented to baptize their children publicly, only to perform private ceremonies to "wash away" the Christian sacrament once they returned home; they celebrated Christian saints' days, but were suspected of simply seeking excuses to bathe for bathing's sake.[3] At a time

[1] For a general introduction to the history of the Moriscos, see L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain, Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, a Cultural and Social History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985); Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens: Un affrontement polémique, 1492-1640* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977); *Les Morisques et l'inquisition*, ed. Louis Cardaillac and Juan Aranda Doncel (Paris: Publisud, 1990); Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca, la convivencia negada: Historia y textos* (Granada: Editorial COMARES, 2002); and Miguel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992). The pioneering work in the field is Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (New York: Haskell House, 1968). For a select collection of key primary sources, see Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los Moriscos* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975).

[2] The text of the 1492 Capitulations, with its clear enumeration of rights for these new subjects of the Spanish Crown, is reproduced in Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempo de Isabel I.* (Valladolid: Instituto "Isabel la Católica" de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969), 318-19.

[3] Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 24-33.

when the Ottoman Turks posed a threat to the security of the Spanish Empire, pirates operating out of North African bases harassed sea traffic, and Protestantism endangered the Holy Roman Empire, the Moriscos were widely seen as rebellious subjects, a fifth column sympathetic to Spain's enemies and eager to undermine the state. Ironically, when they arrived on North African shores, the thousands of Moriscos expelled from Spain were mistreated or killed because they were "apostates," baptized, uncircumcised, and marked by the language and customs of the Christians.

While scholars argue over the degree to which the Moriscos had actually assimilated to their Christian environment and whether they truly posed a serious threat to Spain's national security or had ties to overseas forces, a defiant embrace of Islam dominated the writings that circulated privately among them: prayer texts, religious narratives, and other materials. Among those writings were numerous *jófores*, or apocalyptic prophecies, telling of the imminent ruin and devastation of the infidel Christians at the hands of the Turks.[4] In his *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada*, Luis del Mármol de Carvajal stresses the role that these prophecies played in sparking the bloody Alpujarras rebellion (1568-71), alleging that angry Moriscos "began spreading their *jófores* and prophecies and began urging rebellion, some discreetly, while others, who had nothing to lose, openly."[5] Yet these *jófores* are far more than a thinly veiled incitement for an uprising. They are a reaffirmation of commitment to Islam, a call to repentance and spiritual rededication, and more importantly they reflect an attempt to grapple with the meaning and purpose of history in the first sizeable Muslim community to live under Christian rule, subject to Christian law and the power of the Inquisition by virtue of their "conversion."[6] Systematically excluded from many professions, subjected to intrusive examinations of their

[4] The Arabic word *jafr*, from which this word is derived, means divination or fortune-telling. Medieval and early modern texts bearing the name of *jafr* use a variety of approaches to divining the future, from the astrological to the science of letters (*hurūfiyya*) and mystical interpretations of the Qur'ān and other sacred texts. See T. Fahd, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, CD-ROM ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), s.v. "Djafar."

[5] Mármol de Carvajal, "Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada," in *Historiadores de sucesos particulares* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1852), 169.

[6] The Muslim communities remaining in Sicily after the mid-eleventh-century Norman conquest, as well as those in reconquered areas of Spain, generally lived subject to their own religious law and authority. Christian law applied to them only in cases that involved Muslim interactions with Christians or the Christian community at large. Thus, Muslim religious observance, dietary habits, grooming, dress, and other customs would generally not be subject to Christian scrutiny. For more on these communities, see the articles collected

most personal habits, and vulnerable to the denunciation of neighbors for suspicious behavior such as frequent bathing or eating couscous, Moriscos found in these prophecies some deeper meaning to their suffering and proof that wrongs would soon be righted and universal justice would prevail.

Apocalyptic sentiments were certainly not unique to the Moriscos at this time. Spanish Christians, like other Europeans, had long attempted to locate major historical moments, such as the precipitous fall of Visigothic Spain to the Muslim invaders, the division wrought by the Western Schism, or the 1453 fall of Constantinople, in a larger eschatological framework.[7] Following the tripartite understanding of history popularized by Joachim of Fiore and those who later elaborated on his ideas, many late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century observers read the fall of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada to the Catholic Kings and the discovery of the New World as signs that mankind had entered its final era, an era of Christian military advances that would pave the way for universal conversion and the end of history. The technological advance of the printing press facilitated the widespread circulation of compendiums of prophetic and apocalyptic texts, compilations which might include new versions or translations of texts written centuries earlier. Pere Bohigas documented the vigorous tradition of apocalypticism in the Catalonian region. His extensive bibliography includes works such as a collection of earlier texts entitled *Refundicio compendiada de la summa concordiae Veteris et Novi Testament di Joachim*; Martín Martínez de Ampiés's *Libro de Anticristo*, written around 1493; a Castilian translation of *Vade mecum in Tribulatione* by Jean de Roquetaillade (also known by many other names, including Juan de Rupescissa or Rocatallada); and the late fifteenth-century *Venguda del Antichrist* of the Spiritual Franciscan Johan Alamany.[8] Christopher Columbus—himself an ardent admirer of Joachim—compiled *Libro de las profecías* in which he

---

in James M. Powell, *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[7] The bibliography on medieval and early modern apocalyptic writing is immense. For an excellent introduction on how the writings of Joachim of Fiore helped shape medieval and early modern European notions of their historical and future relations with non-Christian others, see Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999). For a wealth of information more specific to the Iberian Peninsula, see José Guadalajara Medina, *Las profecías del anticristo en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Gredos, 1996).

[8] Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, "Profecies catalanes dels segles XIV i XV: Assaig bibliogràfic," *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 6 (1923): 24-49.

claims that his success in the journey to the Indies was "the fulfillment of what Isaiah had prophesied" and speaks of the urgency of proclaiming the Gospel to many lands to bring the prophecies to their culmination.[9]

As the heady triumphalism following the dramatic expansion of Spanish territory at the close of the fifteenth century was later tempered by the challenge of the Reformation and the military advances of rival powers, new prophecies emerged to account for new realities. Ottoman gains in the Mediterranean under Suleyman I (r. 1520-66) inspired the widely circulated 1534 *Prognosticon* of Antonio Torquata which told of an imminent Turkish invasion that would destroy most of Europe before divine intervention would give the definitive victory to the Germans.[10] By the mid-sixteenth century, Phillip II began to lose a considerable number of strategic Mediterranean ports to aggressive Ottoman moves calculated to exploit the overextension of Phillip's forces, which were engaged on fronts throughout the Holy Roman Empire. If Suleyman's victories gave rebellious-minded Moriscos hope that deliverance was near, they also moved Phillip to quash the mere appearance of internal dissent. In 1567 he issued a new decree—which in many respects simply echoed earlier decrees—further restricting the Moriscos' language, dress, and cuisine. The heavy-handed application of these bitterly resented measures—and perhaps, if we accept Mármol de Carvajal's observation, the Moriscos' own heightened expectations of divine retribution—led to the second Alpujarras rebellion (1568-70), a hard-fought conflict that was put down only with the help of garrisons recalled from Italy.

It must be noted that the apocalypticism of the Moriscos is not only marked by its specific historico-political context but also shaped by the themes and tropes of both Christian and Islamic apocalyptic traditions. Christian and Morisco prophecies competed directly with each other, marking, as Louis Cardaillac observes, another arena in which to carry on religious polemic and debate.[11] Although numerous eyewitnesses refer to the Morisco fervor for prophecy and apocalypse, our sources are limited

[9] Christopher Columbus, Delno C. West, and August Kling, *The Libro de las profecías of Christopher Columbus* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991).

[10] J. Deny, "Les pseudo-propheties concernant les Turcs au XVI^{ème} siècle," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 10 (1936): 201-20. Deny notes that the fact that Torquata's original dates for the invasion—no later than 1536—passed without incident did not deter later reprintings of his work, which simply effaced the mention of specific dates.

[11] Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 55.

because this type of text was systematically confiscated and destroyed by the Inquisition. We must rely primarily on caches of Morisco texts, found centuries after the expulsion.[12] Most of these Morisco writings are in a kind of interlanguage, usually called *aljamiado*, a curious mixture of Spanish and Arabic utilizing a modified Arabic script.

The development of *aljamiado* script predates the forced conversions of the sixteenth century, stretching back to the fifteenth century when Islamic leaders such as Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450) saw the need to provide religious and cultural instruction to believers who lacked an adequate command of Arabic. Yça, the *muftī* of the Castilian Mudéjars—that is, the Muslim subjects of Castile—devoted substantial energies to making Islamic texts available to Spanish-speaking Muslims. He translated the Qurʾān into Spanish and wrote an influential Spanish language compendium of Islamic law and practice, the *Breviario Sunni.*[13] Yça appears to have been instrumental in devising the conventions by which Spanish sounds, like *p*, with no equivalent in Arabic script, would be represented. While *aljamiado* texts vary in the extent to which they incorporate common Arabic expressions and Islamic religious terminology, in many cases, the Arabic lexicon is limited to very common words such as *al-nabbī* (the Prophet), *malak al-mawtu* (angel of death), *al-salām* ("peace," a greeting), *al-dīn* (religion), and *al-Shaytan* (Satan); longer Arabic phrases tend to be followed by a Spanish gloss. The great pains taken by Moriscos to hide these documents from the Inquisition explains why the bulk of these manuscripts were found long after the forcible expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, in the column of a house, under floorboards, and in walls.[14]

---

[12] For the very useful catalog of the contents of the largest of these caches, see Julián Ribera and M. Asín Ribera y Tarragó, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1912). These manuscripts have been published in CD-ROM format, *Los manuscritos de Junta: Colección de manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca del Instituto de Filología del CSIC* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, n.d.).

[13] See Gerard Albert Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, Medieval Iberian Peninsula Texts and Studies (Leiden: Brill, 1994). See pp. 98-114 on Yça's translation of the Qurʾān.

[14] On *aljamiado*, in addition to Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, see Luis F. Bernabé Pons, *Bibliografía de la literatura aljamiado-morisca*, Colleccio Xarc Al-Andalus, no. 5 ([Alicante]: Universidad de Alicante, 1992); Luce López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Andrew Hurley (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); O. Hegyi, "Consideraciones sobre literatura aljamiada y los cambios en

Aljamiado writings have been of enormous fascination to linguists, for the transcriptions provide a rich source of information about regional differences in the pronunciation of Spanish precisely at the moment in which the language is being codified and regional variation is being suppressed. These texts also demonstrate typical features of languages in contact, such as semantic calques, in this case Arabic idiomatic expressions that have been translated literally into Spanish. For example, usury is referred to as *comer el logro*, literally "to eat profit," an expression that comes from the Arabic saying, *akala al-ribā.*[15] Neologisms formed by combining aspects of the two languages abound: the verb *tahararse* (to perform the ritual ablution), in which the Arabic verb *tahara* is changed into a Spanish reflexive form. There is also a great deal of morphological simplification: most Arabic broken plurals have been abandoned in favor of plurals formed according to Spanish usage. For instance, the plural of *nabī*, rather than *anbiyāʾ*, is *nabīes*, the plural of *malak, malakes; al-asās* (foundation) becomes *aliceces*; and so forth. Arabic words are often given with both the Spanish definite article and the Arabic one: *el al-jinne* and *el al-ḥadīth*, for example. Spelling errors in Arabic words and phrases are also a source of information about the regional dialectal pronunciation of Arabic among the Moriscos.

However, apart from the undeniable linguistic interest of these texts, the *aljamiado* corpus encompasses a rich variety of material far broader than the explicitly apocalyptic and prophetic texts that concern us here: prayers (sometimes in Arabic with interlinear Spanish translation or glosses); stories about the prophets such as Abraham, Solomon, Moses, and Jesus; *ḥadīth* about the Prophet and his companions; practical guides that explain how to properly perform ritual prayers (*ṣalāt*); a chivalrous novel, *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana*; and tomes on divination, magic, and popular medicine.[16] *Aljamiado* manuscripts, which in recent decades have begun to

el concepto aljamía," *Iberomania: Zeitschrift für die iberomanischen Sprachen und Literaturen in Europa und Amerika*, n.s., 17 (1983): 1-16; and Hegyi, "Minority and Restricted Uses of the Arabic Alphabet: The Aljamiado Phenomenon," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99, no. 2 (1979): 262-9.

[15] For another example of this, see Harvey, "Castilian 'Mancebo' as a Calque of Arabic ʿabd, or How el Mancebo de Arevalo Got His Name," *Modern Philology*, 65, no. 2 (1967): 130-2.

[16] A number of *aljamiado* texts have been published in Latin transliteration (or more properly, retransliteration) as volumes of the Colección de literatura española aljamiado-morisca series directed by Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes (Madrid: Editorial Gredos). The collection is marked by a very careful attention to philological accuracy and exhaustive

appear in careful editions which reverse the transliteration back into a Latin script from the original Arabic transliteration, are an invaluable source of information about popular religion and cultural practice in this embattled community.

Aljamiado Prophetic Texts

Our richest source for charting Morisco apocalypticism is a sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscript from Aragon (MS 774 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris) which contains writings on death, Judgment day, and prophecies of the End Times.[17] Not all of the texts collected in this manuscript are overtly apocalyptic; one takes the form of the story of a group of Jews who ask Muhammad a series of questions about Islam and convert upon hearing the answers. Another section of the manuscript includes directions for the overland route to the Ottoman-held Greek port of Salonika—presumably for Moriscos planning on escaping the reach of the Spanish crown. MS 774 contains four explicitly prophetic texts: two texts attributed to St. Isidore of Seville, one ascribed to the famous twelfth-century Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217), and a fourth text credited to the Prophet Muhammad.[18]

---

linguistic analysis. The edited text is followed by a useful glossary. Among the titles in the collection are *Historia de los amores de París y Viana*, ed. A. Galmés de Fuentes, 1970 (as the first volume of the series, this one includes copies of the manuscript pages, along with the Arabic characters typeset for easier reading and the author's transliteration, making it an ideal tool for a student wishing to learn how to read *aljamiado* texts); *Leyendas aljamiadas y moriscas sobre personajes bíblicos*, ed. Vespertino Rodríguez, 1983; and *Libro de las suertes: Tratado de adivinación por el juego de azar*, ed. Karl I. Kobbervig, 1987. Additional titles have been published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and other publishers. One particularly fascinating manuscript contains hundreds of recipes, spells, and instructions for making amulets for everything from calming colicky babies to relieving headache or stomach ache, resolving marital discord to making oneself invisible. See *Libro de dichos maravillosos (Miscelánea morisco de magia y adivinación)*, ed. Ana Labarta (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993).

[17] Mercedes Sánchez Alvarez, *El Manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París: Leyendas itinerarios de viajes; Profecías sobre la destrucción de España y otros relatos moriscos* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1982); the texts had been previously published by J. N. Lincoln, "Aljamiado Prophecies," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 52, no. 3 (1937): 631-44. See Luce López Baralt, "El oráculo de Mahoma sobre la Andalucía musulmana de los últimos tiempos en un manuscrito aljamiado-morisco de la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris," *Hispanic Review*, 52, no. 1 (1984): 41-57.

[18] Three *jófores* or *pronósticos* recorded by the historian Mármol de Carvajal in *Rebelión y*

The Morisco appropriation of eschatological ideas and motifs—and even prophets—from Christian tradition is most strikingly exemplified in the prophecies attributed to St. Isidore.[19] In the Morisco *Planto de Espanya*, Isidore—a figure much invoked by Castilian historiographers during the Reconquest—"foretells" the sufferings of the Muslims in an intensely poetic lament punctuated by its reiterated "Guay de ti, España" (Woe is you, Spain). Although as Luce López Baralt observes, this pseudo-Isidore has been slightly Islamicized—referring to himself as a servant of "Unidad" rather than of "Trinidad," what is even more striking is how closely the tone emulates that of a whole tradition of texts attributed to Isidore.[20]

The text entitled *Rrekontamiento de los eskandalos ke an de akaeçer en la çaguería de los tiempos en la Isla de España* (Account of the Grave Things that Will Occur in the End Times on the Spanish Island) contains prophecies ascribed to the famous Spanish traveler to Mecca, Ibn Jubayr, who is best known for the *Riḥla*, his lively—and oft-imitated—account of his

---

castigo present our most important additional source for Morisco apocalyptic thought. The first of these, attributed to Zayd el Guerguali—presumably a historical figure, though I have been unable to identify him—can be dated by its reference to the Turkish conquest of Rhodes (1522) and a bright comet, likely Halley's Comet, which was seen in 1531. The second prophecy is attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, and the third text is ascribed to someone named Tauca el Hamema, a name that curiously echoes the title of Ibn Ḥazm's celebrated eleventh-century treatise on love, *Tawq al-Hammama.* Although a fair number of these prophecies make references to the Turks, in general these references are vague and unspecific. One exception to this is "El guaçía del Gran Turco llamado Mohammed el Ottsman" (The Prophecy of the Great Turk, Mohammed the Ottoman), which purports to be the last will and testament of Mehmed II, dating to 884 AH (1479). The letter promises Mehmed's son—unnamed in the text but presumably Bayezid II—and his two brothers great conquests including that of "todas las Españas de los paganos" (all of the Spains of the pagans).

[19] See López Baralt, "Las problemáticas 'profecías' de San Isidoro de Sevilla y de ʾAli Ibnu Yebir Alferesiyo en torno al Islam español del siglo XVI: Tres aljófores del ms. aljamiado 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 29, no. 2 (1980): 343-66.

[20] The famous encomium to Spain, *De laude Spanie*, which prefaces many manuscript copies of Isidore's *Historia de los godos, vándalos y suevos*, was a frequent trope in later Castilian histories, where it was followed by a lament for the destruction visited upon Spain by the Arabs as divine punishment for the sinfulness of its political and religious leaders. In Alfonso X's *Primera crónica general de España*, this "duelo de España" takes on a highly emotional tone: "¡Espanna mezquina! Tanto fue la su muert coytada que solamientre non finco y ninguno qui la llante; llaman la dolorida, ya mas muerta que uiua." *Primera crónica general de España*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Gredos, 1955), 312.

adventures and numerous scrapes with death.[21] In this text, the pseudo—Ibn Jubayr meets a mysterious old hermit living on a mountain top near Damascus. The scenario is certainly plausible, given the historical Ibn Jubayr's association with travel writing. Chronological references in the text are somewhat confused. The beginning of the end of the suffering of the Muslims will come about through discord between the two monarchs who "worship the cross" and "eat pork," presumably a reference to the Catholic Kings. When the hermit is asked when this will be, he replies: "[E]l año de noveçi^{y}entos i dos p^{e}rençipi^{y}ará el año đe seis" (In the year nine-hundred and two the year of six will begin). Assuming that 902 refers to a *hijrī* date—equivalent to 1496 in the Gregorian calendar—then "the year of six" could be an awkward gloss for readers more familiar with the Christian calendar. However, given the heavy-handed Trinitarian symbolism of what follows, that when the three five hundreds and the three decades are complete—that is, in 1530—the three Muslim kings will join together in a fierce battle against the Christians, it is also possible that "the year of six" refers to the mark of the beast, 666.

Here, as in most of these *jófores*, the specific details of this apocalypse are joined to the conventional signs of the last days:

> Đíšole ke será poka la vergü^{w}ença / i mucha el a^{l}zzine i no rrekonoçerá / el ermano a su ermano, ni el fijo // al pađre, i đexan las meçkiđas / vazí^{y}as i đespobladas, i no onrrarán los chikos a los g^{a}randes… k^{u}wando akello será, envi^{y}ará Allah / ta^{c}ālā sobr-ellos, ki^{y}en les a/follará el ti^{y}empo, i darles á g^{a}randes fanberes i g^{a}ran mengu^{w}a // de vi^{y}andas. Abrá g^{a}randes ađversidades entere las jentes / en las çiwđađes i ^{y}en las villas, / i ^{y}envi^{y}ará Allah ta^{c}ālā sobr-ellos / la p^{u}luviya ku^{w}ando no fará menester, / i đeternerl-á ku^{w}ando fará menester.[22]
>
> [(The hermit) told him that there would be little shame and much adultery, and brother will know not brother, nor son know father, and they will leave the mosques empty and deserted, and the young will not honor the aged… and Almighty God will send down upon them one who will ruin their time, and bring them great famine and lack of food. There will be great adversity among the people in the cities and the

[21] See Muḥammad Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr: Fī Miṣr wa-bilād al-ʿArab wa-al-ʿIrāq* ([Cairo]: Maktabat Miṣr, 1992). The *Riḥla* has been translated into several languages; see *The travels of Ibn Jubayr, being the chronicle of a mediaeval Spanish Moor concerning his journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the holy cities of Arabia, Baghdad the city of the caliphs, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman kingdom of Sicily* (London: J. Cape, 1952); and *Voyages*, trans. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris: Geuthner, 1949).

[22] MS 774, fols. 279v-80v, as transliterated by Sánchez Alvarez in *El manuscrito miscelá-neo 774*, 240. English translation is mine.

villages and Almighty God will send rain down upon them when they need it not and withhold it when they do.]

The faithlessness of the Muslims brings God's wrath upon them, but the text insists on the proper interpretation of these momentous events. It foretells the mass conversions of Muslims to Christianity, beginning in southern Spain, and the burning of mosques to build "ig^{e}lesi^{y}as para las k^{u}ruzes" (churches for crosses) but insists that this suffering will lead God to move the hearts of the Muslim kings. Thus, even the world turned upside down, the lack of piety of those who have turned away from Islam, and the vicious persecution by the Christian authorities can themselves be read as hopeful signs, for divine intervention would soon bring history to its close, reordering the world and restoring justice.

While scholars have made preliminary studies of those prophecies whose descriptions of political, military, or astrological "portents of the hour" put them in dialogue with their Christian counterparts, they are but a subset of a much larger body of Morisco writing that addresses the moral and ethical dimensions of eschatology. As David Cook observes, the moral dimension of apocalypse is paramount.[23] The call to personal religious renewal and the strengthening of a shared cultural identity drives not only Morisco prophetic texts but almost all *aljamiado* literature. For the tribulations preceding the end times gain their salvational significance when understood less in terms of external political events than as the punishment for moral failures of the community: Muslims no longer study the Qurʾān, they do not perform *ṣalāt*, they do but little fasting and they invoke Allah with empty hearts. The lack of religious observance leads to a more general breakdown in the social fabric: children do not respect their elders, and all sense of shame and propriety is lost. The overriding message of the apocalyptic writer is the exhortation to hold fast to Islam, even in the face of persecution and apparent defeat, for that very defeat—which will prove to be only temporary—heralds the final victory.

Tamīm al-Dārī and the End of Time

On its surface, the *Rrekontamiento de Tamīm al-Dār* (Story of Tamīm al-Dārī), a lively tale of adventure contained in a sixteenth-century Aragonese

[23] Cook, "Moral Apocalyptic in Islam," *Studia Islamica*, 86 (1997): 37-69; see also Ibn Kathīr, *The Signs before the Day of Judgement* (London: Dar al-Taqwa, 1992).

aljamiado manuscript of moral teachings, has little in common with the prophetic texts that speak of the ruin that would be visited upon the "eaters of pork."[24] Nor does it make any attempt at an explicit chronology of the end times. However, when placed in the context of Islamic Traditions (*ḥadīth*) and other material dealing with questions of the end times, the story's apocalypticism becomes quite clear. The complexity of the tale—refashioned from preexisting popular literary tradition to heighten the elements that echoed their current situation—provides additional evidence that the Moriscos were not as culturally impoverished as some modern observers would have them. The work shows a remarkable literary sensibility, using framing techniques that serve to juxtapose a variety of discursive types and styles, while carefully attending to nuances in narrative perspective that heighten the dramatic interest of the tale.

Tamīm al-Dārī is a historical figure, an early convert to Islam from Christianity, and one of the Prophet's companions.[25] Said to be the first storyteller, over time he himself becomes the protagonist of a number of tales of adventure. Early collections of *ḥadīth*, from the *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 875) to the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), describe his encounter with al-Dajjāl, an apocalyptic figure often referred to as the Islamic Antichrist, who is depicted as an enormous beast or a gigantesque human figure chained on an island, to be unleashed at the end of the world.[26] It is

[24] This story can be found in MS 4953 Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, fols. 100v-128r. The manuscript has been edited and printed in a Latin transcription with an introduction and notes by Ottmar Hegyi, *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos (Ms. 4953 de la Bibl. Nac. Madrid)* (Madrid: Gredos, 1981); the Tamīm Addār story is on pp. 160-96. Curiously, Hegyi's edition affords the uninitiated Spanish reader no clue as to the historical and cultural significance of Tamīm al-Dārī other than mentioning that he is a figure known to Islamic tradition and providing the reference in Wensick, nor does it provide any gloss or explanation of the terms *dajjāl, al-Khidr*, and so on. For Francisco Guillén Robles's edition/translation of the text in Spanish approximating nineteenth-century usage, see *Leyendas moriscas. . . .*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Impr. M. Tello, 1886), 2:97-127.

[25] For approaches to the historical Tamīm al-Dārī, see Cook, "Tamīm al-Dārī," *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies*, 68 (1998): 20-8; and M. Lecker, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Tamīm al-Dārī."

[26] On al-Dajjāl, an apocalyptic figure present in Judeo-Christian writings until as late as the sixteenth century, see Zeki Saritoprak, "The Legend of Al-Dajjāl (Antichrist): The Personification of Evil in the Islamic Tradition," *Muslim World*, 93, no. 2 (2003): 291-307; A. Abel, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "al-Dadjdjāl"; David J. Halperin, "The Ibn Sayyad Traditions and the Legend of al-Dajjāl," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 96, no. 2 (1976): 213-25; and E. J. Jenkinson, "The Moslem Anti-Christ Legend," *Muslim World*, 20 (1930): 50-5.

important to note that among the many compilations of prophetic Tradition, Muslim's is considered one of the most authoritative and is thus accepted by many believers as describing true historical events. Muslim's account in the *Saḥīḥ* clearly provides much of the material that is incorporated as part of the Morisco tale:

> [Tamīm al-Dārī] narrated to me that he had sailed in a ship along with thirty men of Banī Lakhm and Banī Judham and had been tossed by waves in the ocean for a month. Then these [waves] took them [near] the land within the ocean [island] at the time of sunset. They sat in a small side-boat and entered that Island. There was a beast with long thick hair [and because of this] they could not distinguish his face from his back. They said: Woe to you, who can you be? Thereupon it said: I am al-Jassāsa. They said: What is al-Jassāsa? And it said: O people, go to this person in the monastery as he is very much eager to know about you. He [the narrator] said: When it named a person for us we were afraid of it lest it should be a Devil. Then we hurriedly went on till we came to that monastery and found a well-built person there with his hands tied to his neck and having iron shackles between his two legs up to the ankles. We said: Woe be upon thee, who are you? And he said: …I am going to tell you about myself. I am Dajjāl and will be soon permitted to get out and so I shall get out and travel in the land, and will not spare any town where I would not stay for forty nights except Mecca and Medina as these two [places] are prohibited [areas] for me and I would not make an attempt to enter any one of these two.[27]

The *dajjāl*, in many other recensions marked by his fierce and grotesque appearance, takes his name from the verb *dajala*, "to deceive or to dupe." Tamīm thus becomes linked to the discovery of the *dajjāl*, the decipherment of his signs and the uncovering of his deception. In both Muslim's and al-Masʿūdī's versions of the story, the signs pointing to the *dajjāl* are

[27] Ibn al-Ḥajjāj Muslim, *Saḥīḥ*, trans. ʿAbdul Ḥamīd Siddiqī (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1971), bk. 41, no. 7028. Cf. the account of al-Masʿūdī: "[Tamīm al-Dārī] sailed the sea with a group of his relatives. The sea pounded them and tossed them on an island. When they came out of their ship they saw a beast (*dābba*) whose enormous body was covered with long hair. They said to it, 'Beast, what is your name?' He replied, 'I am the *Jassāsa* who is to emerge at the end of time.' He mentioned other things as well and added, 'beware of the master of the castle.' They looked and suddenly a man appeared, bound and chained to steel pillars. [The narrator] described his appearance and what he requested of them and asked them. He was the Dajjāl and he revealed many prophecies to them, including that he would not enter Medina." Translation is mine, based on *Les Prairies d'or (Murūj al-dhahab)*, ed. and trans. Barbier de Meynard, 9 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), 4:28.

concatenated; it is another beast, the *jassāsa*, the spy or the uncoverer, that reveals the *dajjāl* to the shipwrecked and unwitting Tamīm.

This "official" account of Tamīm al-Dārī and the *dajjāl*, already rich in cosmological and eschatological motifs in its ninth- and tenth-century recensions, became the nucleus for elaborate—and decidedly "unofficial" or noncanonical—popular narratives of supernatural travel and adventure. These types of stories, it must be stressed, are criticized in educated circles for mixing what are held to be veridical accounts regarding the Prophet and his Companions with storytellers' yarns. Nonetheless, these fantastically embellished tales became popular throughout the Islamic world, as attested by later manuscripts in Tamil, Malay, Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Arabic, and the *aljamiado* Spanish manuscript under consideration here. Tamīm al-Dārī's fabulous journey inspired the creation of folk ballads in several languages, including an epic poem in Tamil, consisting of some 880 couplets interspersed with prose fragments. The *Tamīmancāri Mālai*, studied by David Shulman, provides one of the most complex versions of the traveler's adventures. Shulman notes that it incorporates motifs well known from other story cycles such as "the talking birds, the cosmic serpent, the crystal mountain, the journey to the nether-world, and, most strikingly, the island-tomb of Solomon."[28] As is typical in narratives of marvelous journeys, a dreamlike geography and fluid sense of time allow the ready amalgamation of unrelated episodes.

Western versions of the Tamīm al-Dārī story, as seen in the Aragonese *aljamiado* version and Arabic manuscripts in Algeria and Morocco, are less elaborate than the Tamil and Malay variants but still rich in fantastic details. Although there are some important stylistic differences, the outline of the story is nearly the same in these Western Islamic texts.[29] The story begins, fittingly, with a prophecy of sorts. The scene is Mecca, and a group of Muhammad's companions are gathered around him. As Tamīm al-Dārī

---

[28] Shulman, "Muslim Popular Literature in Tamil," in *Islam in Asia*, ed. Y. Friedman (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 174-207, esp. 188.

[29] René Basset provides a transcription of an undated Western manuscript of the story, written in a poor but readable Maghrebī hand, listed as no. 1103 of the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger, in "Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim ed-Dari," *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, 5 (1891): 3-26. I have also relied on a copy of an incomplete, undated manuscript, in a poor Maghrebī hand, found in the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, Morocco. I thank Khalid Zahrī, a manuscript curator at that library, for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

passes by, Muhammad begins to cry. When ʿAlī asks him why he is crying, the Prophet responds: "Yā ʿAlī, a este Tāmima Al-Dār le akaecerá un fecho muy grande, de muchas maravillas" (161) (ʿAlī, something great and full of wonders will befall Tamīm al-Dār). The story will provide ample confirmation of the Prophet's vision, for the narrator continues with the tale of Tamīm, who one stormy evening rises to wash after dallying with his wife. In a light-hearted moment, the wife jests: "[T]omaldo, ya compaña de al-jines" (take him, oh company of *jinn*). And thus begins Tamīm's lengthy odyssey. He is first taken to a distant mountain near the sea where he is held prisoner by unbelieving *jinn.* Despite their taunts, torments, and threats of being left to be devoured by lions, he faithfully continues to pray and read the Qurʾān. After four years in captivity, the king of the believing jinn comes to his rescue. However, the always unnamed "accursed" *jinni* who holds Tamīm is not prepared to let his prisoner go without a struggle. The ensuing battle results in many deaths, and a great number of the infidel *jinn* are taken prisoner, including their king. Although Tamīm has been delivered from the captivity of the unbelievers, his journey has just begun.

Meanwhile, Tamīm al-Dārī's wife, who has waited for seven years without news of her husband, finally goes to the caliph ʿUmar (for both the Prophet and Abū Bakr have since died) to ask for license to remarry. Implicitly declaring Tamīm's death, the caliph asks her to observe "el-al`ida" (ʿ*idda*, i.e., the period of abstention from sexual relations imposed on a widow or divorced woman).[30] Once the customary four months and ten days have passed, the always-nameless wife is betrothed to a man who is alternately referred to as Algudriyu or Al-ʿudhriyu. Although sometimes garbled in the *aljamiado* manuscript, the name is significant because it refers to the Udhrī tribe, traditionally associated with passionate, yet platonic, love. His name then is a slyly ironic joke, for their first night of wedded life is interrupted before the marriage can be consummated by the sudden appearance of a man in the house. It is, of course, Tamīm, who is so unkempt and disfigured by his torments that he is unrecognizable. Algudriyu concludes that he must be a thief, for he cannot accept Tamīm's claim to have been occupied with a "fecho maravilloso" (a marvelous deed) for such a long time, nor is there any satisfactory explanation for his highly

[30] See Linant de Bellefonds, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "ʿIdda."

inopportune arrival on this wedding night. After a long fight, the woman pleads with them to share a room peacefully and let her sleep alone and take the matter to the caliph ʿUmar in the morning.

Following the popular convention of storytelling *à la 1001 Nights*, Tamīm finally tells his story before the caliph, in this case not to save his life, but to win back his wife. Thus, the Meccan scenes of Tamīm's life before and after his adventures become the frame for Tamīm's tale of what happened in the intervening seven years, four months, and ten days. He recounts his capture, his captivity with the unbelieving *jinn*, and his stay with the pious *jinn* and how, finally, his nostalgia for his family and for his Muslim community in Mecca suddenly overcomes him and he begins the long and perilous journey home. During that journey, Tamīm will observe and meet many—if not all—of the central figures associated with Islamic apocalypticism and signs of the end times.

The passage from the distant lands of the *jinn* back home to Mecca and to the ultimately happy outcome with his family and the larger Muslim community is structured in two distinct and counterposed cycles. In each, Tamīm observes wondrous or inexplicable things and then learns their meaning from Islamic figures associated with wisdom and knowledge. In the first cycle, it is Ilyās, that is, the biblical prophet Elijah, who explains to Tamīm what he has seen.[31] He identifies the marvelous city of gold and silver as Iram of the pillars (Qurʾān 89:6), built in the image of paradise, yet never inhabited for God sent the angel of death for its builder and his people as they arrived at its newly finished walls.[32] Ilyās goes on to explain

[31] Ilyās is the name given in the Qurʾān (6:85, 37:123-32) to the biblical prophet Elijah. He is described there as a messenger of God, rejected by his people, yet praised by later generations. The translation of these characters' names can sometimes create confusion. For example, in M.A.S. Abdel Haleem's excellent recent translation of the Qurʾān (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), verse 6:86—which follows the verse mentioning Ilyās—Alīsaʿ (or al-Yasaʿ) is mistakenly translated as Elijah; if it is to be rendered into its common English equivalent, it should read instead as Elisha. Muslim tradition adds more details to the story of Ilyās, drawing in part on biblical tradition. Several miracles are attributed to him and he is said to be immortal.

[32] Iram dhāt al-ʿImād is mentioned once in the Qurʾān (89:6); its meaning in the verse is equivocal but is generally held by later scholars to refer to a city, possibly Damascus. Increasingly elaborate stories surround this city. Here the tale refers to the legend that Iram was built near Eden by Shadad in imitation of paradise. Shadad and his company were destroyed in a storm sent by God as punishment for his pride, and Iram was buried under sand.

that Tamīm has seen the outer walls of paradise and, nearby, mighty angels and righteous Christians awaiting the return of Jesus. Iram is thus presented as the earthly, yet still unattainable, prefiguration of paradise; the sumptuous foods he enjoyed with Ilyās but a foretaste of its delights. Unlike Muhammad, who was granted a vision of paradise in his *miʾrāj* (night journey), Tamīm can only surmise what lies beyond the walls of the magnificent fortress he saw.

In the second cycle, an unnamed youth dressed in green directs Tamīm to the place where he meets al-Dajjāl and later sees two men facing brutal torments. When Tamīm returns, the green-clad man explains al-Dajjāl's role in the end times and the signs by which they can be recognized. The youth clearly represents al-Khādir (sometimes called al-Khidr), whose name, or more properly his epithet, literally means "the green man." Most exegetes identify al-Khādir as the unnamed servant of God whom Moses follows in Qurʾān 18:64-81.[33] In the story, he asks Moses to refrain from asking questions until the time that he chooses to explain himself. Moses cannot contain his curiosity when he sees the man make a hole in a boat, kill a child, and help a town that has refused them hospitality. While it is the man's foreknowledge that illuminates and justifies these apparently outrageous acts, by contrast, Moses is not privy to the future. Al-Khādir is frequently associated with Ilyās: in some sources, the two figures are collapsed into one; and in the *aljamiado* story, they are presented as separate but complementary.[34] Together they provide Tamīm with the knowledge of future punishment and reward that he must bring back to his community.

The frame story here, the separation of Tamīm from his wife, his eventual return, and the restoration of the marital bond, links the initial vision or prophecy of the Prophet Muhammad with a complex narrative that contains not only the Islamic apocalyptic elements already described but

[33] There is an extensive literature on the interpretation of this episode of the Qurʾān, its relationship to Jewish and Hellenic traditions, and the nature and identity of the figures involved. For a concise (and thoroughly documented) introduction to some of these issues, see Brannon Wheeler, "Moses or Alexander? Early Islamic Exegesis of Qurʾān 18:60-65," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 57, no. 3 (1998): 191-215.

[34] See the relevant sections of two standard works on the legends of the pre-Islamic prophets (*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*): Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Kisaʾi, *Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (Boston: Twayne, 1978); and Ismʿaīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Stories of the prophets*, trans. Rashad Ahmad Azami (Riyadh: Darussalam, 1999).

also many paradigmatic elements of Jewish and Christian apocalypses. John J. Collins describes apocalypse as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."[35] Tamīm's adventures correspond to many of the elements of the "master paradigm" for apocalypses proposed in Collins's study.[36] Like the model apocalyptic narrator, Tamīm's otherworldly journey takes him to "remote regions beyond the normally accessible world" where the revelations he experiences are "predominantly visual." Al-Khādir, the "otherworldly mediator," interprets the mysterious symbolic elements of that visual revelation. The pseudonymous attribution of the story to Ibn ʿAbbās, a prominent scholar and exegete from among the first generation of Muslims, follows the pattern of attributing the narration to "a venerable figure from the past." Tamīm's persecution by the unbelieving *jinn* represents an "eschatological crisis" that echoes the upheavals later foretold by the *dajjāl.* The story's complex structure allows "eschatological salvation" to take a number of forms, both personal and collective: Tamīm's rescue from the unbelieving *jinn* following a fierce battle, the vision of paradise that awaits the faithful, the torments for the wicked, and Tamīm's restoration to his prior life. Given that after the completion of the *ʿidda* Tamīm was legally dead, his return is a symbolic resurrection; likewise, that idealized early Muslim community gathered before the caliph prefigures the community of believers who will be granted divine justice before God on judgment day.

The *aljamiado* version of the Tamīm al-Dārī story is marked by several important stylistic refinements with respect to the extant North African versions. It pays much greater attention to narrative flow and point of view; this serves to increase the dramatic effect in crucial scenes. For example, Tamīm's disappearance is narrated from the standpoint of the wife. She jokingly says: "take him, oh company of *jinn*"; she hears a noise, comes out to investigate, and he is gone. Suspense is created as the reader (or listener) shares in the wife's ignorance of her husband's fate, while she spends

[35] Collins, "Apocalypse: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia*, 14 (1979): 1-20, esp. 9.

[36] Collins, "Apocalypse." A complete listing of common apocalyptic tropes and motifs is found on pp. 6-8.

a sleepless night alone in terror before venturing out in the morning to try to find news of him. In this version, the description of what Tamīm saw that night—that is, the awful visage of his abductor—is postponed until Tamīm gives account to the caliph. By contrast, both North African Arabic versions describe the *jinni* when he first appears, as here in the Algerian manuscript: "ʿ[I]frīt min al-jinn aswad qad nazala ᶜalayhi shanīʿ al-khalq lahu qurūn al-thawr al-ʿaẓīm" (an ʿ*ifrit* descended on him, one of the black *jinn*, with a repulsive form and the horns of a great bull).[37] While this omniscient style of narration quickly impresses the reader with the monstrousness of the *jinni*, the dramatic tension in the *aljamiado* version created by its withholding the description of Tamīm's abductor is a far more sophisticated literary effect.

Likewise, in another moment of confusion, when Tamīm returns, the *aljamiado* narration is careful to preserve the drama of the moment. It is "un ombᵉre" (a man) who comes down upon the wife; she experiences confusion, because although she recognizes the voice of this man who claims to be Tamīm, it is not his face. Not until after Algudriyu explains that it is the first night the newlyweds will spend together does the narrator refer to Tamīm by his name, for the perspective shifts to explain Tamīm's joy at discovering that his wife has not yet had relations with her new husband. The Algerian manuscript narrates his return with much less attention to its dramatic possibilities: "[F]a-idhā bi-zawjuha al-awwal qad nazala min al-samāʾi fī wasṭ al-dār" (And suddenly, her first husband descended from the sky right into the house).[38] While the Moroccan manuscript also identifies him from the moment of his entry, "fa idhā bi-Tamīm al-Dār qad wuḍiᶜa fī wasṭ al-dār" (and suddenly Tamīm al-Dār was set down right in the house), it adds a wonderful section in which Tamīm tries to prove his identity through his knowledge of her parents and her brother. These differences in storytelling technique suggest that contemporary refinements in Spanish narrative and perhaps especially the play of perspectives increasingly developed in the popular theater of the time may have influenced the Morisco retelling of the tale. This is just another reminder that even as the Moriscos endeavored to preserve their Islamic cultural heritage, they were marked by the artistic and aesthetic environment in Spain.

---

[37] Basset, "Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim ed-Dari," 15.

[38] Basset, "Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim ed-Dari," 16.

One of the most striking aspects of the *aljamiado* text is the great emphasis it places on the torments and mockery faced by Tamīm al-Dārī for practicing his religion while held in captivity by the unbelieving *jinn.* In the two North African versions much more is made of the frightful appearance of the *jinn*; the Algerian version describes them as having the faces of dogs, monkeys, and pigs and wearing snakes for turbans. The *aljamiado* version adds a wealth of detail that appears to be calculated to resonate especially strongly with the persecuted Moriscos: it repeatedly insists on the constancy of Tamīm's pious observance despite the beatings, insults, threats, and ridicule by the *jinn.* Tamīm's tormentors cannot read his prayers as personal devotion or religious duty—"i hazes todo esto / a nu^{w}est^{o}ro pesar" (and you do all of this to injure us); for them, his prayers are about them. Prayer in this environment is much more than personal devotion; it is a potent symbol and weapon of resistance. Furthermore, the believing *jinni* who initiates his rescue comes precisely because he hears Tamīm's tearful prayers. Indeed, somewhat curiously, despite the piety of the rescuer *jinni* and his freedom to practice Islam, he needs Tamīm to teach his children to read—one might presume the Qur'ān. Tamīm thus is doubly inscribed as a transmitter of knowledge: first to the *jinn* children and, more importantly, to those who will hear his recounting of his otherworldly visions.

In its broad outlines, the story undoubtedly reflects a nostalgia and yearning for the purity and piety of the earliest times of Islam and the desire to be rescued by the forces on the side of the believers. Tamīm al-Dari returns from his fabulous journey with secret knowledge; he has seen wonders like those of paradise and hellish torments visited upon sinners. Most importantly, he has seen al-Dajjāl and has knowledge of the signs of the end times. Although stories such as this which add fantastic elements to accounts about important religious figures have long been condemned by religious authorities for their potential to undermine the authority of other texts, this tale certainly served a number of important functions among the Moriscos. While repeating motifs and themes drawn from a variety of apocalyptic sources, the tale adds a highly entertaining narrative that blends fantastic elements and even certain humorous notes. The *Rrekontamiento de Tamīm al-Dār* served as a vivid reminder to the Moriscos of the worlds that existed beyond their captivity, and an implicit promise that if they persisted in their pious observance, that deliverance would be theirs along with a return to the company of an idealized, just, and understanding Muslim community.

Appendix

The Story of Tamim Al-Dari[39]

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

The story of Tamim Al-Dari, recounted by Ibn Abbas,[40] *may God reward him.* He said: "Among the *Companions* of Muhammad (*peace be upon him*) there was a man named Tamim Al-Dari. One day while we were sitting with the *Prophet* Muhammad (*peace be upon him*), Tamim Al-Dari passed by, and Muhammad (*peace be upon him*) looked at him and began to cry.

Whereupon Ali Ibn Abi Talib[41] (*may God reward him*) said: "*Oh Messenger of God*, why are you crying?"

Muhammad (*peace be upon him*) replied: [161] "*Oh* Ali, a great happening, full of marvels, is going to befall Tamim Al-Dari."

* * *

Ibn Abbas said that one night, Tamim Al-Dari was at home, happily dallying with his wife. It was a frightful night with heavy rains, thunder, and

[39] Readers who are interested in the finer philological points of the details of orthography and pronunciation in this text will want to refer to the original manuscript and the technical transliteration of Ottmar Hegyi (*Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos*). Numbers in brackets here refer to the pagination in Hegyi's edition. My aim here is more modest: to provide a readable English version of the tale. Thus my translation eliminates most diacritical marks for Arabic terms and names, and standardizes spelling, including that of the main character, Tamīm al-Dārī, who is usually referred to as Tamim Al-Dari. I have used italics to indicate where the aljamiado text uses Arabic phrasing, both in instances where I retain the Arabic (such as *jinn*) and where I have rendered it in English (e.g. *Messenger of God* for *rasūl Allāh*). Arabic names, however, are not italicized. Of course, in many cases, the "Arabic" words have been modified according to Spanish rules for pluralization or formation of reflexives. The notes will draw attention to some—but not all—instances of Hispanized Arabic words.

[40] ʿAbd Allah ibn al-ʿAbbās was one of the early scholars of Islam, known for collecting information about the Prophet from his Companions. Thus, the attribution of the story to him would be viewed as lending it greater authority.

[41] ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, a cousin of Muḥammad, enjoyed a close relationship with the Prophet and married his daughter Fāṭima. He became the fourth caliph of Islam, the last of the "Rightly Guided Caliphs." The violent split between the partisans of ʿUthmān, the murdered caliph who preceded ʿAlī, and the partisans of ʿAlī gave rise to the division between Sunnis and Shiʿites.

lightning and unbelievably strong winds. When the man's enjoyment was complete, he got up to *perform ablutions*[42] and his wife said jokingly:

"Take him, oh company of *jinn*!"[43]

No sooner had she said these words than she heard a great sound. She waited a bit to see what it was, but she didn't see anything. So she got up from bed and went to where her husband had been and couldn't find him. And she was taken by a great fright and fear and didn't sleep at all during the whole night until God brought the morning sunrise. Then she went to her family and told them what had happened. The family was amazed and saddened by all of this, for the two of them were cousins. They made inquiries about him to every passing traveler but never had any news of him. They asked about him in so many places and quarters that they grew weary and reckoned him lost. It had been so long that they no longer thought about him.

Getting back to Tamim Al-Dari, [the narrator] tells us that the *jinni*—along with others—snatched him and took him to a dark and dense mountain at the foot of a mountain range overlooking the sea. They put him in a large and frightful cave where all of the *jinn* would gather to eat and to sleep. And [the narrator] says that although the [162] distance from Tamim Al-Dari's house to the cave was four hundred leagues, they brought him to that cave the very night they took him. He stayed there with the *jinn* and partook of what they ate and drank, and he lived this life with great troubles, weeping bitter tears. And despite all of these troubles, he never stopped invoking the name of God, and reading the Qur'an, so the story goes; for he was a great reader of the Qur'an; and the accursed ones

---

[42] The text reads *ṭahararse*, an adaptation of Arabic verb *ṭahara*, which has been turned into a Spanish reflexive here.

[43] *Jinn*, unseen beings said to be made of "smokeless fire" (Qur'ān 55: 15), are mentioned at least two dozen times in the Qur'ān. Sūra 72, titled "The Jinn," tells of a group of *jinn* who listened to a recitation of the Qur'ān and came to believe. They explain: "Some of us are righteous and others less so: we follow different paths" (72:11). However, the majority of Qur'ānic references speak of evil *jinn* condemned to the flames—Iblis or Satan is said to be one of the *jinn* (18:50). They are also portrayed as powerful beings who are obedient to Solomon (27:17, 34:12) and can carry material objects quickly through space (27:39). One group of *jinn* listened to the Qur'ān attentively and "turned to their community and gave them a warning" (46:29).

Throughout the text, I will use *jinn* to render the plural and *jinni* for the singular. The original text reads *aljines*, which is a Spanish pluralization of the Arabic collective noun *jinn*.

made much sport and ridicule of him, and they spit in his face, and they heaped much abuse and insult upon him, saying:

"Evil traitor, performer of *prayers* and *ablutions*, reader of the Qur'an! You do all of this to spite us, and to insult us; now we shall see how much profit you get from your actions, for you are now under our power, and here you will stay, for many times you have cursed us in your *prayers* and your *ablutions.* Know that often we wished to bring upon you the lot that is now yours, and be assured that just as you confounded us and insulted us, likewise you will be among us dishonored and diminished, and this will be your life until you die. And know that when you are dead, we will take even greater vengeance upon you by dragging you to the mountain of the lions so that they eat you."

These and even greater insults they hurled at him, and he spent four years in these trials and tribulations, suffering great troubles among them, but despite these he never abandoned his reading of the Qur'an nor *saying his prayers* at their times.

Ibn Abbas recounts that Tamim Al-Dari was in that cave reading the Qur'an every earthly day. [163] He says that once, while praying to God that He take mercy upon him, the most powerful of the faithful *jinn* was passing by, heard him, and came closer to the cave and saw that it was a mortal being who was there reading. He entered and found Tamim Al-Dari sad and weeping and said to him:

"Oh mortal! May *God almighty and powerful* help you. Pray tell me who you are and how you came to be here. For certainly you appear to be a believer in God, and, in telling me, by God's grace, you will receive some remedy for your want."

Ibn Abbas said that Tamim Al-Dari told him everything that had happened and what had befallen with his wife, and how an evil *jinni* (*'ifrit)* had come and snatched him away and held him there and that he suffered much abuse with him. And then the *jinni* said to the believer:

"You should know, *oh* Tamim Al-Dari, that I am one of the faithful *jinn*, supreme among them and their king. I am a believer in God; if you want to escape this toil, I will take you in friendship to my company. I have two small sons; you will train them in reading the Qu'ran, and you will be comfortable there, for no *jinni* or anyone else will bother or abuse you."

Ibn Abbas said that the believing *jinni* had been alerted that he would find that man there and being king, had come accompanied by great horsemen and many valiant fighters from among the believing *jinn.* Meanwhile, the accursed *ifrit*—may God damn him—arrived. Returning from

his evildoing, he entered his cave and saw the believer *jinn* and spoke to him with great courtesy, saying to him:

"*Oh* King! What is your pleasure? What brings you to my house? You surprise me. [164] What do you want of me? You know that I would do for you whatever you will."

Replied the believer *jinni*:

"Actions speak louder than words. You should know that I have come here because I had been assured that you had this man, and I see that this is true. I am told that he is a great reader of the Qur'an. As you know I have two small children, and I wanted them to learn to read, and this man will teach them. I ask that you give him to me for you know he is a believer as I am."

The accursed *ifrit* said:

"*Oh* king! Ask something else of my house, for I will not do that because this one battles me in cruel war with the *prayer* and *ablutions* and even here where I have him, every single worldly day he reads from the Qur'an. For as you know, *oh* king, when the Qur'an is read I melt like wax in the fire."

Thereupon said the believing *jinni*:

"I expected no other response from you. You should know that this man is a member of my faith, and reason has it that I and not you should have him, and the time that you have had him here you have done me a great wrong and even greater offense. I will not leave without him."

And this gave Tamim Al-Dari great joy and he said:

"*Oh* king of the faithful *jinn*, may God have mercy on you, do not leave me here for I will teach your children."

Thereupon said the accursed *jinni*:

[165] "You say you will teach his children to increase the number of my enemies and thus wage even greater war upon me. Well, your departure from here will be at the cost of many lives."

And he began to scream with such force that I thought that the sky was falling upon the earth, and the cries of the accursed *jinn* joined those of a thousand million accursed *jinn*, and a battle was joined such that the sky seemed to sink. You would hear nothing but cries that shook the hills and the cliffs with a great clamor.

The killing and wounding lasted a great while and in the end the believer *jinn* were victorious and they captured many prisoners, among them the king of the unbelievers. And they took Tamim Al-Dari to the king of the believing *jinn* on another mountain. And when all of the faithful *jinn* had

arrived, the king ordered that none of them should wrong nor speak hurtful words to that man, for they should know that he was a believer in God and a reader of the Qur'an and that he was to teach the king's children.

So Tamim Al-Dari remained there in the company of the believer *jinn* teaching the two children of the king to read; he would read and perform the *prayers* and eat and drink with them, and he was happy and they even more so with him, and the children learned well and loved Tamim Al-Dari a great deal. In this way he spent three years. Now let us leave Tamim Al-Dari in that life.

Ibn Abbas said that when his wife saw that her husband had not returned after so long—for seven years had passed—nor had she any news of him, it was her wish to marry. She had waited a very long time indeed.

The teller of this *hadith* goes on to say that she and her family went to Umar ibn al-Khattab (*may God reward him*) and they said to him: [166] "*Oh* king of the believers, know that this woman's husband has absented himself from her for seven years; we fear for her reputation; therefore give her license to marry, may God repay you."

Umar (*may God reward him*) said: "Send her back home and have her carry out the *idda* for the deceased of four months and ten."

And so they sent her back to her house and she completed the prescribed *ʿidda.* Then they brought her back to Umar and they told him how she had completed the *ʿidda* as he had ordered. Umar questioned her neighbors until he ascertained the truth and then he surveyed those gathered in his service and said: "*Oh* people, who among you would like to marry this woman? For she has waited seven years to hear from her husband and not once had any news from him. She asked for a divorce from him and I ordered that she complete the *ʿidda* according to the *religion* that Muhammad (*peace be upon him*) left us and she has upheld that."

It seems that our *Prophet* (*peace be upon him*) had died by then, as well as Abu Bakr.

And when he said this, one of those standing before Umar—who was the king of the faithful—al-Udratu,[44] rose and said: [167] "*Oh* Umar, I will marry her."

[44] The Algerian manuscript published by Basset gives "rajulun min banī ʿUdhra" (a man of the Udhrī tribe) ("Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim ed-Dari," 16), a sly joke about the chaste love of this second husband. The Morisco manuscript gives a number of vastly different spellings for his name, and it seems possible that the literary reference went unnoticed by the Morisco scribe.

And later he went to his house and brought a silver necklace for her, and he gave it to Umar and Umar gave it to her; and he also gave [money, presumably] to them so they could marry. And thus the woman returned to her house, divorced from Tamim Al-Dari and married to al-Udratu. That night (for he came to her house), she had cooked dinner, and al-Udratu came in, and she took out the food for him to eat and she left the room to perform her duties.

Whereupon a man appeared before her, giving her a great fright, and she said: "God is my defense against the cursed *Shaytan* (Satan)."

And he said: "God is my defense against the one of whom you speak."

And then she said: "Who are you, and who let you in or commanded you to enter my house without permission?"

Said he: "I am your husband, Tamim Al-Dari."

And she recognized his voice but not his face, so deformed he was in appearance. His long hair and beard were truly frightful for he had not cut his hair or his beard in seven years.

Well, when al-Udratu, the second husband, heard the discussion, he came out to them and said: "Who are you?"

And he replied: "I am Tamim Al-Dari, and the house is mine, and the woman as well."

[168] Whereupon al-Udratu asked her if she knew that man.

She said that she did not know him.

And al-Udratu said: "Surely you are a thief because Tamim Al-Dari left this land seven years, four months, and ten days ago and never returned or visited his wife. I am now married to her and this is the first night I am with her."

And this gave Tamim Al-Dari great joy and he said: "By God, you speak the truth, but I was occupied with a marvelous adventure which prevented me from visiting her."

And so the two of them fought for a long while, almost killing one another.

Whereupon said the woman: "I ask you both, by God, that you spend the night together without anger and I will sleep somewhere else, and tomorrow may Umar (*God reward him!*) judge between us, a right left to us by Muhammad (*peace be upon him*)."

And the narrator said that the two of them slept in the same room, and she in another until God brought morning. And the two men and the woman, along with many others of that city who heard what had happened, went before Umar (*may God reward him!*).

And al-Udratu said:

[169] "*Oh Commander of the Faithful*, judge between me and this man, who last night entered my house without my permission and deprived me of my spouse."

Whereupon Umar said to the other man: "Brother, who told you to enter this man's house and forbid him his woman at such an hour of the night?"

"*Oh Commander of the Faithful*, surely you and those present know that the house is mine and the woman as well. Don't you recognize me?"

Umar said: "And who are you, brother? May God have mercy on you!"

He said: "I am Tamim Al-Dari."

Umar said: "My brother. When has it ever been seen that someone leaves home for so long, seven years, four months, and ten days, without sending his wife even one letter?"

And Tamim Al-Dari said:

Oh Commander of the Faithful, listen to what I have to say: You remember well that one day when you were with the Prophet of God, Muhammad (*peace be upon him*) and he told us that whenever one of us slept with his wife that he should then purify himself and that he not sleep unclean, and if he slept without *performing ablutions* and something from *Satan* befell him, his person would be harmed. And I, *oh* king of the faithful, always followed the teaching of Muhammad (*peace be upon him*), and one night I got out of bed to perform the *ablutions* and my wife said in jest from the bed: [170] "Take him, oh company of *jinn*!"

And then, *oh* Umar, a *jinni* king stood before me with many of his vassals, and he was very fierce and big, with a horrible countenance, he had horns like an ox, and he took me, *oh congregation*, on his back and propelled me through the air; and they took me to their cave, and there they heaped great abuse on me, and when I performed the *prayers*, they would stone me; and this happened to me by the will of God.

And later, one day a great throng of *jinn* who believe in God descended upon me, and they took captive many of the unbelieving jinn, and they took me in exchange for those they had taken captive, and they said to me: "*Oh* son of Adam,[45] where did you come from?"

And I said to them: "I am a Companion of Muhammad (*peace be upon him*)."

[45] A calque from the Arabic which simply means "man," that is, as opposed to those who belong to the race of *jinn.*

And I made them know my plight and all that had happened to me and they said to me:

"Do not be afraid, *oh* believer, for we are *jinn* who believe in God and his messenger."

And I was with them, teaching their children the Qur'an, and when I performed the *prayers*, they would perform them with me. And one day I thought of my wife and your [the community's] companionship, and I was overcome with the desire to perform the *prayers* in the assembly of the *mosque* of the *Prophet*[46] [171] Muhammad (*God's blessing and sanctification upon him*), and I cried because of that and they said to me:

"Why are you crying, *oh* companion of Muhammad?"

And I told them of my desire, and they took pity on me, and they took me before their king, the father of the children I taught, and they let him know my desire, and then he called his people, and when they had come before him, he said to them:

"Which one of you will take this man to his house?"

Whereupon, *oh* Umar, a very large *jinni* rose and said: "I will take him, God willing, in one month."

And the king said: "I would like it to be sooner."

Another rose and said: "I will take him in eight days."

And the king said: "I would like it to be sooner."

And another rose and said: "I will take him in a day."

And the king said: "I would like it to be sooner."

And a monstrous *jinni*, so big I could not describe him, who seemed to me like the one who had taken me from my house, rose. And the king said to him: "I want you to take this man to his house."

He replied: "As you will, but he is not to invoke God on the way."

The king said: "Enemy of truth! When you kidnapped him from his house to your cave, he was calling upon God. [172] Tamim Al-Dari, ride on his back, and may God protect you from him, for he is one of those who does not admit his sin nor ask for forgiveness and it pleases me that he is under my power. This is the one who took you from your house, who was captured on the day of our war; he will take you."

And I rode on him, and he flew with me in the air until he arrived at the first heaven, for I heard the *glorifications of God*[47] of the *angels* and their

[46] The combination of the Spanish definite article and the Arabic definite article preceding ʿ*nabbī* actually gives "the the Prophet."

[47] "*Atasbihes.*" The standard plural for *tasbīh* (glorification of God) is *tasābih.*

sanctifications "*by those who line up in rows*," and I recited, "*Say that God is one*," and that *Satan* began to melt like lead in a fire, and I fell off of him flying in the sky, and I arrived on earth like a ball of wool and I lay there for three days.

And then God *almighty and powerful* brought me back to my senses and I found myself on a large and very wild island, and I ate from its fruit, and drank from its waters. I was there for three days, and I walked through a white land that looked like camphor, glowing like the rays of the sun and I arrived in a city made of gold and silver and precious stones, and it was as long as it was wide, with gates which recalled those of *Paradise.* And I marveled much at its construction, and I entered into it and I saw many birds that were singing, each in its own language, and I saw in it four rivers, and most of its trees were date palms and pomegranates[48] with their fruit and I said to myself:

[173] "*Glory be to God*! How this city seems to me to be in the form of *Paradise*, that which God spoke of in the honored Qur'an."

And I began to walk, and not far from there I saw some very high mountain ranges, whiter than milk, in them there were cities and castles whose story only God *most high* knows.

Later, *oh Commander of the Faithful*, I left and not far from there I found a very large *fortress*, and never was seen one more beautiful. It was a *dome-shaped edifice* of precious stones and jewels embroidered with gold and silver, and I entered the *fortress* and I saw a man with a lance and a sword in hand, and I saw injured men with blood spilling from them that had the color of blood but that smelled better than fine musk, and around them there were many children, small like precious stones, and I said to myself: "God protect me! For whom is this dwelling?"

Later I left the *fortress* and walked not far, and I saw a tall and majestic mountain range, and on top of it I saw men standing performing *the prayers* and I said to myself: "Who might they be? What if, by chance, they are lost like me?"

And I went to them and I greeted them with "Salam," and they did not return [my greeting], and I waited for them to finish the *prayers*, and they never stopped performing them. And then I left them, and I found two

[48] Hegyi reads *meng'ranos*, which I take to mean *milgranos*, the term commonly used in medieval Navarra for *granada*, that is, pomegranate. See J. Cejador y Frauca, *Vocabulario medieval castellano* (New York: Las Americas, 1968), 278.

men walking quickly with spears of light in their hands, and they said "Peace" to me and I responded with "Peace" and they said to me:

"Are you the man who has lost his company?"

[174] And I said: "Yes, indeed."

—You have seen great wonders but go on a little further and you will find the one who can guide you, God willing.

So I walked not far from there and I saw a white *dome-shaped edifice* and in it a white old man, with white robes and on his head a white cap, and he was standing performing the *prayers* and I approached him and greeted him and he acknowledged me with his head; and as soon as he had finished his prayers, he returned my greeting and said to me:

"Are you the man who has lost his company?"

I said: "Yes."

He said to me: "You have seen great marvels."

And I looked and saw before him a table set with different types of food. And he said to me: "Now I am sure you would [like to] eat."

I said: "By God, would I really like to eat."

He said to me: "Well, sit at this table and eat in the name of God, for this food must suffice you for as long as you are in these lands."

And I sat down and I ate foods that could not be but the delights of *Paradise.*

When I had eaten, I said to him: "My lord, I have seen a city so great that it is three hundred and seventy two leagues long. It has six thousand towers worked in [175] gold and silver, and it is modeled on another that God speaks of in his honored Qur'an.

And then he said to me: "That is the city that God speaks of in his honored Qur'an, for it is *Iram of the pillars* built by Shadad Tab, the son of Adad."

And I said to him: "*My lord*, how long did it take him to build it?"

He said to me: "Three hundred and seventy years. He wanted to make it in the image of *Paradise* and when it was finished, he came to it with his people and his servants and when he arrived at its walls, *the Angel of Death* came before him in the guise of a man, and greeted him and he returned the greeting and Shadad said: "Who are you, whose countenance evokes such fear?" He said to him: "I am *the angel of Death*,[49] and I have come to

[49] The Qur'ān makes multiple references to the angel (*Malak al-mawt*) or angels that come at the moment of death to escort souls to their punishment or reward. See Qur'ān 4:97, 6:93, 7:37, 8:50, 16:28, 16:32, 32:11, and 47:27.

receive your *soul* and those of all your people. And he received their souls by the will and command of *almighty and powerful* God. And they never entered it [the city], nor did they see it, and everything that you have seen, the fortresses and the cities that are on the mountain tops, were for their gentlemen and the ministers of his house."

He said to him: "I have also seen a great *fortress* of gold and silver, which is in an uninhabited land."

[176] And he said to me: "Tamim Al-Dari! That fortress belongs to *Paradise* and it is the abode of those that die in *the path of God* and the beings that you saw are the sons of those who died in *the path of God.*"

And I said to him: "My lord, on top of these mountains I saw men performing *prayers.*"

He said to me: "Those are the ones who remain from among the apostles who walked with Jesus son of Mary, *peace be upon him*, and they asked God to give them life so they might serve him until Jesus descends to this world and they remained there where you saw them through the will of God *almighty*."

I said to him: "I saw two men who were in a great hurry and in their hands were lances of light."

He said to me: "Those were Jibril and Michael, sent by God to guide you to the straight path."

And I said to him: "And you my lord, who are you?"

He said to me: "I am *Ilyas*, (*peace be upon him*). Now look at this sea, go by the shore for there you will find the one who will show you the way, *Almighty* God willing, and with him you will find your release."

[177] And I wished him peace and I walked ten days to the edge of the sea. Thereupon I saw a ship and I made signs to it and it drew near and they tossed out a dinghy with oars, and they took me onto the ship with them and there I found people I could not understand, nor could they understand me. And I saw a man of many years who was reading the word of God, that which had descended in the letters of Abraham[50] (*peace be upon him*) and I came to him and I greeted him and he understood me and I understood him, and he said to me: "Friend! And who brought you to this land?"

And I told him my story and he said: "You have seen great wonders; know that we are of the lineage of Seth[51] (*peace be upon him*) and we are

[50] That is, the man was reading Hebrew, and thus he and his people are identified as Jews.

[51] Although Seth is not mentioned in the Qurʾān, he is an important figure in later

from where the sun sets. And we heard you invoke Muhammad (*peace be upon him*) and it is our duty to visit whomever invokes him."

When the old man had heard my story, all of them came to me and they gave me of what they had and they honored me such as they could.

And I was with them upon that ship for nine months. Traveling in this way I saw that they began to take leave of one another and cry and I said to the old man: "Why are these *creatures* doing that?"

He said: "Look ahead."

I looked and I saw a great black round mountain in the middle of the sea; it looked like it had been cut with a saw.[52] And he said to me: [178] "See that mountain?"

I said: "Yes."

He said to me: "They are crying because everyone who has ever come to this place has been lost.

And with this the ship collided with the mountain and splintered into pieces, and all were drowned, for I saw no one escape. I alone, Umar, got out on a wooden plank and the waves tossed and embraced me and I was in those straights for ten days during which I very much wanted to die.

The waves dumped me on a larger island than before and I was dead to the world for three days, until the almighty and powerful God brought me back to my senses. I rose and went about the island, and in six days I saw not a single creature excepting one day that I saw a green dome-shaped building and in it, a young man dressed in green with a green headscarf and he was standing performing the *salat* and I approached and said "Salam" to him and when he had finished his prayer he returned my greeting and said to me: "Are you the man who has lost his company?"

And I said: "Yes."

He said to me: "You have seen great wonders, now go on to those two mountains you see there before you, and you shall see marvels that no one has seen before you.

And I went to them, and I saw a very large cave and in it a black dog, and the dogs in her barked, and when I saw her, I was frightened and

works on the pre-Islamic prophets (*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*). The third son of Adam and Eve, Seth was Adam's favorite, who cared for him when he was sick and who fought and defeated his brother Cain for his murder of Abel.

[52] Here the author puns on the Spanish word *sierra* which can either mean a mountain (range) or a saw.

thereupon a voice from heaven which said: [179] "Don't be afraid, enter the cave, and you will see wonders."

And I entered inside, and I saw, *oh* Umar, a bed of stones and in it a sleeping old man. And he heard me and sat up on the bed and said to me: "Who are you, or where do you come from, and what sort of creature are you?"

I said to him:

"I am of the people of Muhammad (*peace be upon him*)."

Oh Umar. When he heard the mention of Muhammad he began to swell up until he no longer fit in the cave and he said to me: "Is Muhammad's coming near or has he already come?"

I said: "Yes, he has come, for God has sent him with the message, and the payment of *the tithe* and everything else that was commended to him he completed and God received his soul unto himself and has set him in the house of honor."

And he said to me: "When you left him, in what state did you leave the commandments of *religion*?

I said: "I left them just as God commanded."

He said to me: "Do you practice usury? Do you announce it in the public squares?"

I said: "No." [180]

He said to me: "Do you do evil deeds?"

I said: "No."

He said to me: "Do you fast during the holy month of Ramadan?"

I said: "Yes."

He said: "Do you perform the *prayers*?"

I said: "Yes."

He said: "Do you say: '*La Allaha illa Allah. Muhammad rasul Allah*'?"[53]

I said: "Yes. There is no one young or old who does not say it."

Oh Commander of the Faithful! With this he melted like wax in the fire. And I left that place, and I found a deep well, and I saw at the bottom of the well two people hanging by their eyelashes and the fire beneath them. I went not far from there, and I saw many *mosques*, and in them many *creatures*, wearing green robes, performing the *prayers*, and I returned to the first mosque, to the youth, and I greeted him and I let him know what I had seen.

[53] This is the basic statement of faith for all Muslims: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet."

He said to me: "My friend. The cave in which you saw the one-eyed old man is the accursed of al-Masih Al-Dajjal,[54] and the black dog that you saw is the beast that he rides, that can traverse [181] the world in one day because her step is the distance such as what a man can see on flat land and she will not set out until the end of the world, and when she does, there will be signs and they will be these: the *prayer* will diminish, and *tithing* will be prohibited, and there will be much usury, and the young will not respect the old, the rich will have no mercy toward the poor, evil will not be proscribed, even when done in public, kings will be conquered. In that time, believers will be vilified and the evil will be honored. There will be much evildoing at the time of the emergence of this perverse evil one. As for the well in which you found the men hanging by their eyelashes and the fire beneath them, those are Harut and Marut,[55] who chose the torments of this world over those of the next. And the men that you saw performing the *prayers* in the mosques, those are the ones who remain of the companions of Jesus (*blessings upon him*) and serve God until judgment day."

And I said to him: "*Oh my lord*! What lies beyond the mountain range called Kaf,[56] that encircles the world, like the walls encircle a city and it is made of precious stones?

I said to him: "*Oh my lord*! What is there beyond this land?"

He said to me: "There are forty islands, each one of them forty times larger than this world, and all of them full of *angels*, that no one but *almighty and powerful* God knows their number."

Whereupon came a black cloud and in it came the *angels* of torment with strong thunder and lightning, and they said to the youth: [182] "May God's peace be upon you! Is there anything you need?"

---

[54] *Al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*, literally the pseudo-Messiah, the opposite or the Masīḥ or Christ, that is, the Antichrist. See Saritoprak, "The Legend of Al-Dajjāl (Antichrist)," 291.

[55] The angels Hārūt and Mārūt are mentioned in Qurʾān 2:12 as teaching harmful knowledge to wicked men, men who disregarded the angels' warning: "We are sent only to tempt—do not disbelieve." The legend regarding these two angels, as related in several accounts, including al-Muttahar al-Maqdisī's tenth-century *Kitāb al-badʾ wa al-taʾrīkh* (Book of the Beginning and of History) and al-Qazwīnī's *Ajāʾib al-makhlūqāt* (The Wonders of Created Beings), is that they committed grave sins while on earth and were then given the choice between punishment in this world or punishment in the next, and they chose the first option.

[56] Qāf, as the text itself explains, is the name of the mountain range held to surround the terrestrial world. M. Streck and A. Miquel trace this cosmological concept to Iranian traditions. See H. Fleish, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Ḳāf."

He said: "*Oh* cloud, where are you going?"

It said: "I am going above the people who consume the *sustenance* which comes from God, yet they serve another who is less than God, and God sends me with the punishment and the anger to destroy them."

And he said to it: "Go with God's blessing."

And meanwhile came another cloud, white, and in it the angels of piousness and it came upon us and said to the youth: "May God's salvation be with you, *oh* friend of God. See if you are in need of anything."

And he said to it: "*Oh* cloud, where go you?"

She said: "I go to those who are believers in God to give them good waters, that the earth may drink and that grasses may grow for their livestock. See if you are in need of anything."

He said: "*Oh* cloud, I would like for you to take this man to the *city* of the Prophet Muhammad (*peace be upon him*)."[57]

Said the cloud: "I hear and I obey God the merciful."

And he said to me: "Ride on her and rise up in her."

And *almighty and powerful* God gave me sleep, and I remember nothing until I found myself in my house. This is what has happened to me and what has prevented me in this time from coming to my house, *oh* king of the believers.

[183] And then Umar said: "*God is great*!"

This is how the *prophet* Muhammad (*peace upon him*) took his leave of us before his death.

Said Ali ibn Ali Talib (*may God reward him*): "May a barber step forward."

And one came, and he shaved Tamim Al-Dari, and he returned him to the countenance of those who were the companions of Muhammad. This done, Ali said: "I judge and say thus: That if Tamim Al-Dari had absented himself of his own will and had been free to come and had not come, that the marriage would be licit and that the divorce of Umar was good; however, he was not at liberty to come. The marriage would not be *licit*, but the best and most just course would be for her to say which of the two she wants."

She said: "By Him who sent Muhammad with the truth, never have I seen nor shown myself to anyone but Tamim Al-Dari, who is my husband, and I will show myself to none but him."

[57] This would be Mecca.

Said Ali, may God reward him: "I order that you return to al-Udratu what he has spent and that she go with Tamim Al-Dari."

And they all left content and rewarded with this judgment.

This is what has come to us of the narration of Tamim Al-Dari with the blessing of God. *Amen. Amen. Thanks be to God, master of the two worlds. There is no God but God and Muhammad is the messenger of God. And there is no force nor power but in God, exalted and great.* There is no god but God and Muhammad [184] is the Messenger of God. There is no force nor power but in God, exalted and great.[58] May God have mercy upon the writer and the reader and the listener and the entire congregation of Muhammad (peace be upon him). *Amen. Amen.*

[58] These religious formulas are given first in Arabic and then followed by the translation into Spanish.